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291 occurrence. I was, however, told that, in olden days they were in general use among the men. Fringed leather belts of the same kind as the one [171] here shown, are still common among the Lengua in the eastern Chaco.[1] Belts and girdles are fastened round the waist by means of a thin leather strap, passed through, and tied to, two holes at one end of the belt. The two free ends of the strap are threaded through two corresponding holes in the other end of the belt (see fig. 31); are tightened up as required, and tied. In the same way the Choroti fasten their fringe-less leather belts (fig. 171), which are usually made of white oxhide, and serve to secure mantles and skirts round the waist (see fig. 30: the man farthest to the left). The Choroti also wear broad, fringe-less belts of oxhide as a protection for the stomach from arrow shots.[2]

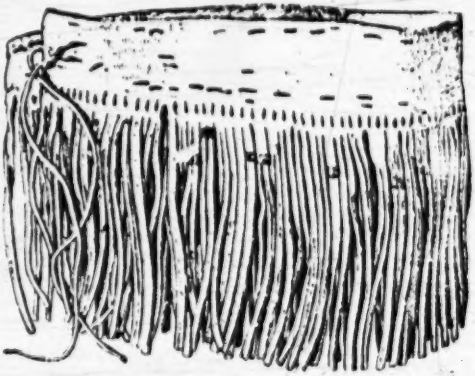

Fig. 31. Fringed leather belt. Mountings of tinplate decorating some of the fringes. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 4/5. Riksm. 03. 3. 8.

Very common garments are large woollen mantles, which the men either wrap round the waist (figs. 17, 30, the two men on either flank), or drape over the shoulders (fig. [231] 32). The Choroti women weave these mantles of the wool from the 286 flocks of sheep that the tribe owns in the interior of the Chaco. The 291 mantles are usually in two colours, and woven with groups of stripes. I have reproduced, in fig. 33, a corner of a Choroti man's mantle, the size of the mantle being 204 by 183 cm. The fabric, so-called rep, consists of two-thread, tightly spun yarn of a greyish white (the natural colour of the wool) and reddish brown; the warp is rounded, so that the weaving is selvedged all round. The woof is red. The ground colour of the mantle is brownish red, and there are six groups of greyish white stripes running with the length of the mantle. Each group of stripes consists of one broad, greyish white stripe, with two thinner stripes of

[1] Grubb (1).

[2] Cf. Nordenskiöld (13), plate 13.

286 Among the Choroti, I have only seen a very few individuals wearing
291 the poncho, and the only specimen of this garment I succeeded in obtaining belonged to a half-grown youth. This poncho (fig. 35) consists of a woollen fabric, 160 cm long and 61 cm broad, in the middle of which there is a slit, 26.5 cm in length. The weaving consists of two-threaded, tightly spun yarn of greyish white (the natural colour of the wool) and red (now faded). Its ornamental design is formed by three broad, decorated strips, woven on double warp, so that on one side the pattern shows greyish white on red ground, and on the other side red, on greyish white ground. The fabric between these strips is rep, with the woof of greyish white yarn. Whether this poncho is of Choroti weaving, one cannot be certain. Possibly it has been obtained by Choroti from their Ashluslay neighbours, seeing that similar garments are not uncommon among the latter.[1]

[531]

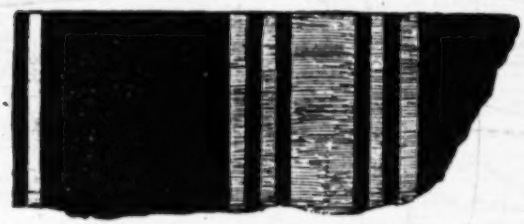

Fig. 33. Corner of man's mantle which is 204 cm long and 185 cm wide, of brownish-red wool, woven with groups of greyish yellow stripes. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 1.

[531 171 422]

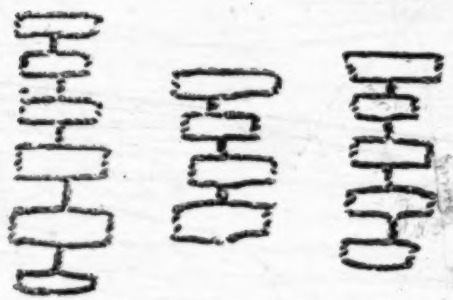

Fig. 34. Ornaments (probably property marks), placed in the middle of the mantle, a detail of which is seen in fig. 33. 1/2.

292 714 In the huts of the Choroti I frequently came across a kind of thick shirts, knitted from tightly spun caraguatá-fibre threads (fig. 36), but I never saw them in use. In reply to my questions as to the reason for this, I was told that these garments are chiefly worn in fighting, when they are used as a protection against [171] arrows. Caraguatá shirts are also used by the Ashluslay and the Mataco,[2] but in the literature on those Indians I have found no reference as to their being used as a protection against arrows. The Chiriguano, however,

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 111 and 112.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 107.

translated »big ears» — an appellation subsequently transferred to all such tribes within, or in the neighbourhood of, the Inca kingdom, among whom the wearing of ear-lobe discs was customary.

In our days, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is met with among a number of tribes distributed over the whole of that part of South America which lies to the north of the tropic of Capricorn.[1] On the Chaco, ear-lobe discs are extensively worn by the Choroti, Lengua[2] and Ashluslay, and are also found among some of the Mataco and Toba Indians.[3] Also in North America the custom of wearing ear-lobe discs, or blocks, appears to be very ancient.[4] The wearing of this kind of ear discs is, however, not limited to America, but is also found, among other places, in Central Africa.[5]

Fig. 52. Brush-like ornament of false hair, for wearing pushed in under the frontlet. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. [6] a. Riksm. 03. 3. 65.

Among the Choroti, all the men and youths have their ear-lobes pierced, and in the holes they wear discs (see for instance figs. 17, 30, 39, 53). These discs were almost always used for everyday wear, and invariably on state occasions. It very seldom happened that I saw a Choroti man without his ear-discs. Latterly, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs has, in the same way as other old customs once prevalent among the Choroti, become less common, and nowadays it seems that the Choroti, for everyday use at least, often appear without their discs. The piercing of the ear-lobes is performed with a bone awl, or cactus spine, already during boyhood, but I did not see any boys under puberty age wearing discs. Neither is there anything in the literature indicating that Choroti boys put on ear discs before that age.[6]

But, on the other hand, immediately on having had their ear-lobes pierced, the Choroti children take to wearing bits of grass, or very slender

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), map 18.
[2] Koch (1), p. 318, and Hawtrey (1), p. 283.
[3] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 122.
[4] See for instance Moore (2), p. 382.
[5] von Rosen (4), plate 7, fig. A, and von Rosen (7), p. 124.
[6] When it has been stated that the wearing of ear-lobe discs has nothing to do with pubescence [Nordenskiöld (12), p. 68], this is correct only in so far as the ear discs of the Choroti, like the tembeta of the Chiriguano, may, perhaps, first and foremost be attributed with a magical significance, and that their character of being symbols of puberty is only a secondary one. Cf. Karsten (4), p. 155.

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of the hole in the ear-lobe was probably an important matter, a point noticed also by Karsten, who writes on this subject: »Of all marks of honour which they received at this initiation, *the holes* in the ear-lobes were the most important. The Inca himself pierced the ears of the young princes with big golden pins, which afterwards were left in the wounds *in order to make the holes larger.*»[1]

For reasons which here follow, I can, however, quite well imagine that exceptions might be made from the rule that ear discs may not be worn by women. Karsten states his observation that women, as a rule, take no part in religious ceremonies, incantations or dances, but adds: »There are exceptions to this rule, and just as elderly women, who have been properly initiated, may perform certain religious ceremonies of their own, so may they also occasionally take an active part in certain religious dances.»[2]

Bearing in mind the fact that ornaments of magical character have their specific uses at dances and other religious ceremonies, and also that ear blocks, as we have seen, are looked upon by the Choroti Indians as means of protection against evil spirits, I do not find it improbable that *elderly women, who have been initiated in magic ritual, on certain occasions may wish to strengthen their power to resist evil spirits by enlarging, as do the men, the holes in their ear lobes by putting in blocks, or discs.*[3]

Among another Chaco tribe, the Toba Takshik, Dr Lehmann-Nitsche has observed that a certain distinctive attribute, which as a rule is exclusively meant for the one sex, may, in rare and exceptional cases, be assumed by the other. Lehmann-Nitsche tells of a man who had been given the tattooing especially distinguishing women, but points out that this must have been an extremely rare case, seeing that it greatly astonished even the interpreter, and suggests the possibility of the man not being considered an »homme normal».[4] It is noteworthy that the tattooing in question, described and reproduced by Lehmann-Nitsche, is practically identical with a tattooing design that adorned a Choroti *man* (see fig. 66).

[1] Karsten (4), p. 136. Italics by von Rosen.

[2] Karsten (1), p. 2.

[3] Fig. 30 in »Indianlif» (Nordenskiöld (12) shows a redoubtable old Choroti woman, who had executed the tattooing Nordenskiöld had done on himself. This old woman's ear-lobes are enormously distended.

[4] Lehmann-Nitsche (2), pp. 15 and 16.

171 Among the Ashluslay, who are neighbours of the Choroti, *only the men wear ear-lobe discs*, which probably is also the case among the Toba.[1]

As I have pointed out in the foregoing, in their culture the Lengua are very closely related to the Choroti, and therefore it would be of especial interest to obtain exact knowledge as to how the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is applied among the first-mentioned tribe. In the literature on the Lengua we find a definite statement by the distinguished explorer, Koch-Grünberg, to the effect that among the Lengua it is *exclusively* the men who make use of ear discs,[2] whilst the equally prominent Chaco expert, Grubb, says that it is *chiefly* the men who wear these ornaments.[3] Grubb has published the picture of a woman who has distended holes in her ears, but is *without discs*.[4]

From the statements made by Koch-Grünberg and Grubb, I think it probable that among the Lengua, as among the Choroti, it is the rule that ear discs are worn exclusively by the men, but that exceptions may occur. That such exceptions must be of extreme rarity is as obvious as could be desired, from the fact that Koch-Grünberg never saw a single Lengua woman wearing ear discs.

301 322 Among the Choroti, the ear discs are made of wood, cane, gourd shell or palm leaves. In the wooden discs, the front face is flat and often metal-mounted (figs. 53 and 54), or has ornament burned in (fig. 55); the rear face is usually convex and, as a rule, provided with a hole bored or burned into it, sometimes forming a perforation right through the disc. Occasionally the cylindrical surface of the discs is decorated with ornament burned in.

301 The long necklaces of snail-shell spangles, like most other ornaments among the Choroti, are worn exclusively by men. These necklaces usually have a length of several metres, and rank as highly valued possessions; it is exceedingly difficult to obtain such a treasure from a Choroti by barter. The most elegant of the men often wear several necklaces of this

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[2] »Diese Pflöcke sind *ausschliesslich eine Zierde des männlichen Geschlechts; die Frauen tragen sie nie*. Das erste Anlegen des Pflockes ist eine Art religiöser Feier, bei der sie nicht gern einen Fremden dulden.» Koch (1), p. 218. Italics by von Rosen.

[3] »Wooden ear-discs are worn as ornaments, chiefly by the men.» Grubb (1), p. 72. Hawtrey, who has also written about the Lengua, does not say whether only the men wear ear discs, but he has described these objects in connexion with other objects of a more-or less magic character, which *as a rule* are worn by men. Hawtrey (1), p. 283.

[4] Grubb (1), the top picture on the plate behind page 72.

[text continues on p. 69]

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out, the tattooing reproduced in the last-mentioned diagram is almost identical with the face-tattooing on a Takshik man reproduced by Lehmann-Nitsche.[1] 304

Only grown women are plentifully tattooed, and a tattooing like the one reproduced in fig. 73 is *never found on any woman under marriageable age*. Just as with us the girls are not at once given long skirts to wear, but only by degrees, so the girls of the Choroti with the passing of the years are given additional tattooing, until, having grown into mature women, their face-ornamentation is complete.

With many Chaco tribes, tattooing is probably as a rule a puberty sign of a magic character, especially set apart for the women. Among the Ashluslay, only the women are tattooed,[2] and, according to Karsten, the women of the Ashluslay on the lower reaches of the Pilcomayo are tattooed as they enter upon puberty.[3] Among the Toba, only the women are as a rule tattooed.[4] [171]

The tattooing is generally performed with cactus spines (fig. 77), but exceedingly sharp-pointed bone awls (figs. 81 and 88, c) are also used. The latter are often wound with woollen yarn, leaving only a few millimetres from the point, so as not to penetrate unnecessarily deep into the skin (figs. 185 and 186). These wool-wound bone awls are, however, primarily intended for being used in a peculiar kind of blood-letting, to which I shall again refer in connexion with the magic practices of the Choroti. The most practical way in which to perform tattooing is undoubtedly by using a small bunch of Cactus[a] spines, for then several punctures result from each stab. On the only occasion when I saw tattooing being performed, the puncturing was made with bone awls, it is true, but that may possibly have been owing to there being no cactus spines handy. Other investigators, who have spent longer time than myself among the Choroti, only mention cactus spines as puncturing instruments in tattooing.

Tattooing is performed in the following way: With saliva strongly mixed with soot, the tattooing artist (often an elderly woman), by means of a small stick outlines the desired pattern on the face of the person who is to be tattooed, whereupon the tattooer stabs at the sketched

[1] Lehmann-Nitsche (3), p. 16.

[2] According to Nordenskiöld, the Ashluslay girls receive their first tattoo marks at the age of about 5 to 7 years. Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[3] Karsten (4), p. 34. Cfr. also what Karsten says about tattooing, pp. 330—333.

[4] Lehmann-Nitsche (3), p. 16.

[a] *v. Koen.* II.

A [should be lower case. ~ ANA(yst)]

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Fig. 90. Riksm. 03. 3. 245.

Fig. 91. Riksm. 03. 3. 256.

Bows, Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/4. In shooting, the bows are held in the position shown in the figures, i. e., with the part of the stave downwards, on which the string is wound.

Fig. 92. Lower string hold, and string mouse, of the bow, fig. 90.

a. b.

Fig. 93. Upper and lower string-holds and string mouses of the bow, fig. 91.

Among the Choroti, as among their neighbouring tribes with the exception of the Chiriguano, the bow staves are sometimes made with a bend at the ends towards the string, these bends having been produced *before* the stringing of the bow (see fig. 91). How the bends are effected among the Choroti I cannot say, but it is probable that they, like the Lengua, for this purpose use fire.[1] According to Grubb, the Lengua shape the staves also with axe or knife so the stave ends assume the bent shape required. This can, of course, only be done by making the ends strongly tapering, as then they are more easily bent. The direct carving or cutting out of a bow stave with bent ends from a piece of wood is certainly possible, but to my thinking the stave would break at the very first attempt at stringing the bow, because in such a case the grain of the wood would not be following the bend of the stave.

By giving the ends of a bow stave an inward bend in the way done in certain Chaco bows, the greater part of the stave — even when stringed — is free from any strain, except when the string is being

A. B. C.

03. 3. 250. 03. 3. 256. 03. 3. 257.

Fig. 94. Transverse sections at middle of the Choroti bow staves. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm.

[1] Grubb (1), pp. 76 and 77.

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drawn back for giving speed to the arrow. Of the circumstances which require a bow-stave construction of this kind, I have given a full account in my description of the bows of the Rangweolo swamp dwellers,[1] so that here I will only mention that such a construction is the right one only for bows that are never altogether unstrung. 411

Among the Choroti, as among the Mataco,[2] the curved end type of bow is considerably more rare, and less developed, than among the Toba, which latter tribe, according to my opinion, has preserved the Chaco bow in its purest and most highly developed type (see figs. 272–274). Probably the Choroti formerly had bows of the same type as the Toba, but in later times the bow type of the first mentioned tribe is likely to have been influenced by intercourse with the Chiriguano. [171]

Chaco bows have not, *as a rule*, ends that have been pared down for giving a hold to the string (Cfr. figs. 92 and 93 with fig. 205); some Choroti bows, however, have been given this kind of string hold, as may be seen from the table below. These pared down bow ends are undoubtedly an imitation of the Chiriguano stringhold. On the bow stave, immediately inside the loop of the string, the Choroti occasionally lay on a winding of caraguatá or woollen yarn, 0.5 to 1 cm wide (fig. 93), which prevents the string loops from slipping down along the bow stave when the strain is very hard. In a properly made bow, no such windings are necessary, and were certainly not used in the old days, otherwise than exceptionally. Nowadays these windings are often seen: of the eleven Choroti bows studied by me, no less than four are wound inside the string holds.

As a rule, the bow staves have been polished very smooth. Their transverse sections at the middle are shaped as seen in fig. 94. Between the section types A, B and C, there are intermediate forms, which, in my table of Choroti bows, I have named AB and BC.[3] Such transverse sections as are found in the bows of the Choroti are also met with in bows found in the Andean mountain regions, and in the report I have published of my archæological researches in Quebrada del Toro and on the Puna de Jujuy, I have embodied a description of some bows and bow fragments, found in ancient graves, which have the same kind of section and string-hold as the typical Chaco bows. Several of the Andean bows are, however,

[1] von Rosen (4), pp. 176–184.
[2] Cf. Krickeberg (1), fig. 33 a.
[3] For transverse sections of other Chaco peoples' bows, see Schmidt (1), p. 1037 et seq.

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These casings are not sewn together, but consist of the seamless skin of the tail or leg of some animal. At first I took it as a matter of course that these casings had been put on solely for the purpose of strengthening the bow at some point where it looked like breaking. In order to make certain, I cut loose a casing of this kind, which was on the bow numbered 03. 3. 253, but I could not discover the least crack, knot, or other defect pointing to any necessity for reinforcing the bow at that point. But, between the casing and the stave, I did find some flattened cakes of excrement from some herbivorous animal. Whether these excrements had *purposely* been placed inside the casing, is of course impossible to say, but if they were put there on purpose, then they undoubtedly possessed some magical significance. In such case the idea must have been that they would bring good luck in the hunting of the species of game whose excrement had been placed inside the casing (see p. 181). As among the Indians there is a very wide-spread notion that whoever possesses the skin of some animal also possesses a certain mastery over the spirit of that animal,[1] it is not impossible that the skin casing itself is of a magic character. Professor Emil Holmgren, who, at my request, kindly carried out a microscopical examination of the excrement flakes as well as of the piece of skin, considers that the character of the latter points to its having been a part of the tail of an animal of the goat, sheep, or *cat* tribe, and that the colour and grouping of the hairs are indicative of the *last-mentioned* category.[2] That parts of animals' bodies are used by the Chaco Indians as hunting amulets, is, among other things, evident from a statement by Nordenskiöld upon the subject of hunting among the Ashluslay, who are neighbours of the Choroti: »In hunting, the Ashluslay make use of various amulets. If, in the always indispensable caraguatá bag, one carries the head of a tortoise, then one is able to stalk close up to the deer, without putting them to flight. When hunting ostriches, it is a good thing to bring along pieces of skin taken from the breast of ostriches which one has killed.»[3] As to the other two bows, I have refrained from cutting off the skin casings, and therefore cannot say whether the latter conceal any cracks or not. On the staves of the bows Nos. 03. 3. 252 there are, however, to be seen, close to the casing, several deep scorings, running

[1] Karsten (4), p. 90.
[2] Opinion dated August 24th, 1921. Rockefeller collection of Manuscripts, Volume 1921, »II».
[3] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 49.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

Fig. 110. War club, of hard, heavy wood [illegible] mataco. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6 Riksm. 10. 3. 92.

As war weapons the Choroti use, beside bows and arrows, short, round-handled clubs of some very hard and heavy wood, usually palo mataco. The head and handle of the clubs is always carved in one piece (fig. 110). With these seemingly not very formidable weapons, the Indians are able — on account of the great hardness, heaviness and strength of the club material — to deal terrible blows, and they know how to use them with great skill.

In fighting their rivals, the Choroti women sometimes use knuckle-dusters of tapir hide or wood,[1] the latter being of a type identical with specimens found in ancient Indian graves in the mountain region to the west.[2] The Choroti use also bone awls as daggers. A bone awl especially suitable for a weapon is reproduced in fig. 111. It consists of the lower part of the leg-bone of a small deer; the foot serves for a handle, and the hoofs forms an excellent pommel. The weapon fits the hand very well when the thumb rests against the sole of the hoof.

For cutting up game, the Choroti use knives made of sharp-edged cane splinters. Knives and poniards, of cane, have been very extensively used in South America. Even among tribes possessing knives of stone or metal, to this day knives of cane are being used in certain ritual ceremonies. Thus Bolinder, for example, mentions that among the Ijca Indians of Northern Columbia, in childbirth the navel is cut with a cane splinter.[3]

The Choroti do not, however, possess only weapons of offence, but also weapons of defence. When on the subject on dress, I have described the mail shirts, made of closely woven, thick

Fig. 111. Awl, made out of a shank bone of a small deer. Bone awls are sometimes used as poniards. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 181.

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 55 and 56; also (13), p. 81.
[2] von Rosen (1), pp. 203 and 204.
[3] Bolinder (1), pp. 240 and 243.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

415 of a river mussel (fig. 133). These mussel shell spoons are seldom as large as the specimen here reproduced, which has a length of 14 cm.

I have seen neither food dishes nor spoons, made of wood, among the Choroti, but nowadays, at least, such are used by them.[1]

285 415 Among the Choroti I saw only one single piece of basket work (fig. 134). It consists of a small basket of the same shape as a kind of pot, which is common in the Chaco (see cooking pot in fig. 192), and it is probably only a direct copy, made in sport, of a clay pot; otherwise, basketry is unknown to the Choroti, and it is therefore probable that the object in question has either found its way to these Indians from the Chiriguano, or that some Choroti, having seen basket-weaving in a Chiriguano village at some passing visit, subsequently has attempted to produce, some similar work himself. It should be noted that the weaving technique in the basket here reproduced is the same as the one used by the Chiriguano.

Fig. 133. Spoon, consisting of a mussel-shell. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 167.

[7]

286 415 The Choroti keep no inconsiderable part of their goods and chattels in large, nearly oval, knitted bags of caraguatá yarn (figs. 135 and 136). These bags are especially useful when the tribe is journeying or migrating. They are carried by the women in such a way that the tape or string within the ends of the bag is placed across the forehead, whilst the bag rests against the carrier's back. The carrying cord over the forehead keeps the bag from slipping down the back. For carrying water pitchers and other vessels of earthenware or calabash, the Choroti use carrying nets. On page 118 I have described the way in which these are used.

[285] [482]

Fig. 134. Basket, Choroti(?). Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 144.

For everyday use the men have a kind of

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 86—90.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

wood, music bows, drums, rattles made of calabash, and dancing rattles consisting of animal hoofs. Latterly the Choroti have also taken up the use of a kind of cow-horn trumpet with a mouthpiece of reed. 534

The reed flutes bear a great resemblance to the ancient Peruvian flutes, although the latter as a rule are of bone. Like most Choroti flutes, the one depicted in fig. 162 has a notch cut in the edge at the opening of the mouthpiece. This detail is also found on many ancient Peruvian flutes.[1] [171]

Mead writes of the latter that they consist of one-piece tubes of reed or bone, open at both ends, and that they belong to the kind of flutes that are called »end-blown». They are blown at the end where the notch has been cut, with the lower lip against the part of the edge which is diametrically opposite the notch. According to Mead, the notes are produced by the air current, in blowing, passing across the mouthpiece opening and striking the sharply cut, opposite, edge of the flute-mouth (i. e., at the notch); this sets up vibrations in the air column within the tube. It is well known that the note which is given off by a flute depends upon the length of the vibrating air column within the flute. For varying the length of the air column, the ancient Peruvian flutes are provided with holes, from three to seven in number. All attempts at discovering any system relating to the distances between these holes have failed. One is reduced to supposing that the flutemakers among the ancient Peruvians placed the holes in a more or less arbitrary way. The fact of the tones producible on flutes of this kind generally not forming any correct scale, is not to be wondered at when one considers the difficulties a modern maker of flutes has to overcome in order to produce a perfect flute.[2]

Open-ended bone flutes of the same kind as the ancient Peruvian ones, are known from, among other tribes, present-day Brazilian Indians dwelling on the banks of Rio Tiquié and Rio Caiarý-Uaupés. About these instruments Koch-Grünberg writes that: »at the upper edge of the mouthpiece a square or semicircular notch has been cut out. The flute is pressed against the lower lip, and one blows obliquely into its mouth. These flutes have three, or, more seldom, four, finger holes.»[3] [171]

[1] E. g., Engel (1), fig. 18, a, b, c, and Mead (1), the fig. on p. 14, and also plate V, figs. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 21, 22, 23.
[2] Mead (1), p. 14 et seq.
[3] Koch-Grünberg (3), p. 303.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

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In previous works on the Indians of the Chaco, there is to my knowledge nothing said about the Choroti possessing whistles made of bone. These Indians do, however, use such whistles, which are made of bird bones (fig. 164). These whistles are open at both ends, so that two notes can be produced; if one closes the lower end of the whistle with the finger, one naturally obtains a note differing from the one given by the open whistle. In the bone whistles, the blowing-end is partly stopped up with wax.

Fig. 165 shows a remarkable type of whistle, which is very common in the Chaco. This whistle consists of an oval, flat piece of wood, bored through in the way seen from the figure. On one side it has a sheeting of tin, which originally had a serrated edge all round, like a cog-wheel. Most of the teeth are, however, worn away, but on the left half of the mounting the serrations are almost intact. The mounting is set on the wood by means of some waxy substance. The reverse side of the disc is without any mounting or other ornamentation. For carrying this whistle there is a plaited cord of red, woollen-yarn, which is decorated with a few snail-shell spangles. The object in question is evidently very old, as one of the holes which originally served for fastening the carrying cord has become useless through the cord having worn through the wood, which is of very great hardness, in the way seen from the figure. A new hole for the cord has therefore had to be bored. Oval whistles of this kind, ornamented on one side, are worn as breast ornaments by most Choroti, and are also found among the Ashluslay, Chané, Chiriguano, Churúpa, Lengua, Mataco, Tapiete, Toba and Yuracáre.

Fig. 165. Disc-shaped, wooden whistle; on one side mounted with a piece of tin, the other side unmounted. On the figure, the dotted lines mark the boring. This object is meant to be worn as a breast ornament string round the neck. The carrying string consists of red, woollen yarn, and is decorated with a few snail shell spangles. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 314.

[17] 301

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

764 decisive weight, for, as I have pointed out in the foregoing, one needs to use the utmost caution in accepting information which has been obtained through an interpreter. But as an eminently striking corroboration of the 764 interpreter's statement there is, I may point out however, the fact that 171 the Mataco Indians, who belong to the same ethnical group as the Choroti, often put down pots of food and drink in graves, and that the Mataco believe that the dead actually partake of the offering. The fact of this being so was easy enough of verification among the Mataco Indians who, already at the time of our journey, had to a certain extent acquired the Spanish tongue. At Rio Seco Nordenskiöld excavated a Mataco grave, and in this he found a clay pot. About this he writes as follows: »When I asked them what the pot was for, they told that it had contained water which the occupant of the grave had drunk on his journey; a reply showing that they have a firm belief in a life beyond the grave.»[1] Bearing in mind how closely the customs and usages of the Mataco upon the whole correspond with those of the Choroti, I am of opinion that, from consistent statements of the Choroti interpreter and Mataco Indians, we have very strong reasons for supposing the food- and drink vessels, the tobacco pipes, etc., that have been found in Choroti graves, were intended for the use of the dead.

[1] Nordenskiöld's notes, Riksmuseum Inventory, 03. 5.

[pp. 187-268 not processed]

2: Nordenskiöld SK6 Choroti SK6

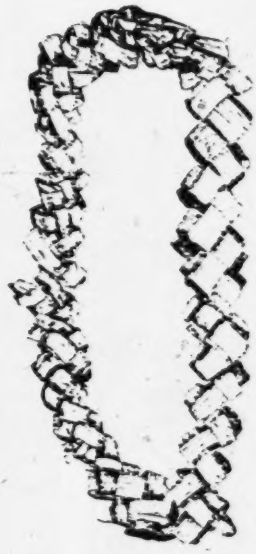
● 171

[For distributional evidence concerning the Choroti, see Category 116, entire book. --Analyst]

1: Métraux--324 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5
G 285 353 /462 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

C 285 353 778 789
Ci 114 285 301



A 285 301

Fig 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A C Ci 285 171

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci 301 302 171 /321 cont./ Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and they also stain their faces.

Ci 648 [464] In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they have lent important services and it was they who saved the life of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M 131 101 These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti, since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M 101 181 241 231 197 They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's language with very little difference; their customs are nearly identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and chickens.

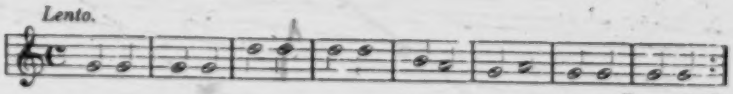
M 167 177 464 224 Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons, in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.

M 174 771 776 [756] They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in sorcerers a power that they do not have.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

Kausima dance is always obligatory. Thus in a case which came under my notice the dance was performed by a middle-aged woman who, holding the dancing-staff (*káhuis*) in her right hand, proceeded with slow regular steps backwards and forwards in front of the house, where the girl, in whose »honour» the dance was performed, was sitting motionless. The woman accompanied her dance with a peculiar monotonous chant marking time, as usual, with the *káhuis*. Sometimes one of the small girls went and joined her, holding the dancing-staff together with her and walking in the same time. The dance and chant was begun at sunset and continued with short intervals till midnight. The melody of the chant which was repeated over and over again, was the following:



It is evident that the object of the dance was to drive away or keep off the evil *möhsek* who were trying to harm the girl.

Exactly the same custom prevails among the neighbours of the Choroti in the south, the Ashluslay Indians, who in their culture are so closely related to the Choroti. The fact that the rattling dancing-staffs form a magical instrument peculiar to the Chaco tribes, may also be inferred from the puberty ceremonies in vogue among the *Lenguas* of Paraguay. These ceremonies are shortly described by Mr. Barbrooke Grubb, but since he gives no explanation of their significance I may mention them in this connection, with more reason since the Lenguas are culturally closely related to the Indians of the Mataco-Choroti group. The main dance is, as among the Choroti, performed by the women who circle round the girl to be initiated, chanting and marking time with their rattle staffs. A troop of lads, dressed in ostrich plumes and wearing masks to represent evil spirits, issue from the forest, running one behind the other in a serpentine formation, move in and out among the crowd, jingling bunches of hoofs and from time to time uttering prolonged shrill cries. At their near approach the women dance and chant with increasing vigour round the girl pretending to protect her and to drive off the masked »spirits» [1]). The idea just indicated by me with regard to the Choroti, namely, that the young woman will, through the initiation, become permanently har-

[1]) Grubb, *op. cit.* p. 178.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

dened against evil spirits, seems to appear very clearly from the puberty ceremonies of the Lenguas. The girl, in order to be hardened against the spirits, must be brought in close contact with them, but this must be arranged in such a way that they cannot do her harm. The lads have at first conjured the dangerous invisible foes and compelled them to enter into the masks by imitating them in their external appearance and by uttering cries which no doubt are supposed to imitate the cry of the spirits. When afterwards the girl comes in contact with the demons while they are thus subdued and rendered harmless, she is believed to obtain a certain immunity from them even for the future. The principle is exactly the same in other initiation ceremonies.

Among the *Tobas* the puberty ceremonies are more complicated when the girl is the daughter of a great chief, in which case the incident is celebrated by the whole community and with much the same ceremonies as take place when the chief's wife is in child-bed. For the five critical days the girl is not allowed to leave the house; she must fast rigorously and keep the whole body well covered. Every evening all the younger men from the neighbouring villages assemble outside the chief's house, shaking rattles, chanting, and drinking algaroba beer. During the day, again, the festival dance *Nomí* is performed by the men. The object of all these ceremonies is to conjure the evil spirits and prevent them from coming in the night to attack the girl. The Tobas fancy that on this occasion also the *peyák* arrive with the approach of night in the shape of snakes, trying with every draught of wind to penetrate into the house and to enter into the young woman, in which case it is believed that she will become pregnant with a snake, or fall ill and die.

Ideas of supernatural birth brought about by evil spirits entering into the woman in the form of snakes, seem to be common among the Tobas, as may be inferred from one of their myths which I shall relate in a subsequent chapter.

During the days that the girl is kept secluded she is also obliged to fast strictly. She is allowed to eat only the leaves of the plant *parák* (tusca, *Acacia aroma*) as well as the leaves and the fruit of the vine *tasi* (*charáde*, in the Toba language), the former raw but mashed, the latter boiled.

After the menses have passed, the mother of the girl together with other women go out on the plain to catch armadillos. The men, on the other hand, go out to hunt ostriches. After that a great feast is arranged, at which the women together with the girl in whose honour the feast is

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti 5K 6

take part in the dances, although courtship is connected with them. After the dances sexual intercourse is indulged in by the partakers in the festival, each girl choosing for herself a lover for that night among the dancing men.

Nordenskiöld mentions the Choroti as an instance of Indians who have purely profane dances, pointing out that they have special reference to the sexual life. The latter of course is true of some dances; but Nordenskiöld's mistake in regarding the Choroti dances as purely profane is due to the fact that he did not study their customs thoroughly and therefore failed to see the ideas underlying them. In fact, it is clear that the Choroti dances are gradually losing their original magical or religious significance and have a tendency to degenerate into mere amusements, a course of development which we frequently notice with regard to Indian customs. But even the Choroti dances still, in the main, retain their ceremonial character. Thus my Indian informant, an elderly man, told me that when the Indians dance they collect the whole supply of fruit gathered for the occasion in the house of an old man, i.e. a man initiated in the magic art; and *they believe that the dancing will make the fruit abundant* — not only these particular fruits, but those growing in the forest as well. The principle is again the same as in the Mataco dance to promote the growth of the sugar cane and in the Toba dance to make the chañar fruit abundant. As we have seen, the drumming, practised by the Choroti and the Mataco during the »season», has to a certain extent a similar object. That the chanting which accompanies the dances has at the same time for its object to frighten away evil spirits, is evident.

From this point of view it is interesting to compare the ceremonies performed by the Choroti during the »season» and the sexual liberty connected with them with certain »mysteries» of a similar kind practised by some Indian tribes in other parts of South America. Thus the Yurupary ceremonies of the Uaupes Indians in north-western South America present a close analogy to them. Among these tribes also certain mysterious ceremonies, consisting chiefly in dancing, are performed at those seasons of the year when the most important fruits reach maturity. The object of these ceremonies appears to be to influence the spirits which are thought to animate the plants and thus to promote fertility. Many facts show that these spirits are nothing but souls of the dead which have taken up their abode in the trees and plants. Moreover, at these mysteries sexual intercourse is promiscuously indulged in by those

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Matacc
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK 6

taking part in them, evidently with a view to propagating the useful plant spirits and giving them an opportunity to enter into the women and to be reborn in human form.[1])

I believe that in the Choroti dances performed during the algaroba season and the sexual licentiousness which forms part of them we have in fact remains of similar mysteries in the Chaco, which for one reason or another have partly lost their original significance, having now at the outset only the general character of joyful harvest festivals.

Again, the great festival dance of the Tobas is the *Nomi* already mentioned. It is performed on all particularly solemn occasions, but especially during the algaroba season. It is the great »carnival» dance of the Tobas. Even some time before the proper season begins the Indians start to dance, believing that by dancing they can accelerate the ripening of the fruits (*niapilák map*), just as the Mataco and the Choroti believe that they can hurry on the ripening of the fruits and the coming of the season by beating drums. In dancing the Indians arrange themselves in a long line, or so as to form a crescent. With arms interlaced round each other's waists they move, running alternately to the right and to the left and at the same time forwards to the other end of the dancing place where the chain is broken. Thereupon they move back in the same way. As is customary in the Chaco, the dancers themselves chant the measure of their steps in a loud voice. Similarly the women do not take part in the dance although they are allowed to be present as onlookers. — During the season the dance goes on daily and is believed to influence continually the growth of the fruits.

But the *Nomi* dance is performed during the algaroba season with another object in view also. The Tobas believe that at this happy and joyful time they receive invisible guests in great numbers. These are the *kadepakál* or *ilúh*, i.e. the spirits of departed Toba Indians, who also want to be present at the joyful festivals and to take part in the drinking-bouts. But these guests, who are feared or at any rate awake uncanny feelings in the living, are not welcome and do not receive any sort of cult. On the contrary, measures are taken to keep them off, and the Indians told me that precisely this is part of the object of the dance *Nomi*. The dancing men by means of their movements and their loud chanting prevent the spirits of the dead from approaching the villages or the place where the drinking and feasting goes on.

[1]) See my *Civilization of the South American Indians*, pp. 427 sqq.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

C 783 827 [224] resorted to before going out on a hunting expedition. If the arms fails or trembles in pulling the bow, its weakness is, according to the idea of the Choroti, due to the presence of a *mohsek* in the blood; and they think that the evil demon will leave the body with the blood drawn. The same custom is practised by other tribes of the Pilcomayo. Thus C Nordenskiöld noticed it among the Ashlualay, although he did not understand its real meaning. After a trying fishing or hunting expedition, he says, the Indians may be seen to pierce their arms and legs furiously with hard wooden splinters, so that the blood flows in streams; and in order to get a keener sight to find the nests of the bees they likewise prick themselves above the eyes. In both cases the idea evidently is that the demon which causes the weakness or fatigue will be driven away from the body and perhaps killed with the pointed instrument.

M 304 783 The scars left by the cuts are tended with care and shown with satisfaction, indeed with pride. The Indians showed with apparent satisfaction even those cicatrices which the *palometa* fishes had inflicted on their body with their sharp teeth when they were bathing in the river. It is clear that according to the idea of the Indians not only the bleeding purges the body from impure matter and strengthens the limbs, but that the very scars which remain after the operation possess some mysterious power to keep off evil influences, a power which is much the same as that ascribed to real tattooing marks. This Indian view is especially conspicuous in regard to an operation which the whites sometimes perform upon Indians who have come in contact with European civilization, M namely, vaccination. I could myself appreciate the extraordinary importance ascribed to scars when during my stay at Esperanza I vaccinated 751 783 a number of Chaco Indians who were employed as labourers at the sugar factory. The Christians probably have no remedy which the natives 304 understand so well as this one, and they therefore as a rule submitted to the vaccine inoculation without remonstration, in fact, with pleasure. The small indelible marks which remained were regarded with wonder and admiration, and it was perfectly understood that they were a sort of warranty that the terrible disease would not attack the person wearing them.

M 302 189 Of all personal ornaments *body-painting* is the most important. All Chaco tribes practise it, and men and women alike. In the Chaco, as in other parts of South America, body-painting is essentially a custom of magical significance, as one can easily find out by considering the circumstances under which it is practised. The favourite colour of the